"The Case Against SOCIALIZED FARMING"—new Supplement just off the press. Recently-passed farm bill will raise food prices and taxes, yet was passed only because Big City Betrayal Bloc voted for it. These Democrats—taking orders from JFK—fear city bosses more than they fear their own constituents whom they consider "too damn dumb" to understand. ORDER SUPPLEMENTS with coupon on page 778.

Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XIX, No. 41 October 13, 1962 Section 1 — News

CUBA: *Will election jitters bring blockade?* (771)
MISSISSIPPI: *"Ergo, why not Cuba?"* .....(771)
RED TRADE: *New study suppressed* .....(773)
HONDURAS: *State Dept. malfeasance* .....(773)
EDUCATIONAL TV: *New development* .....(773)

Blockade of Cuba: Many rank-and-file Democrats have been writing to JFK and their members in Congress urging strong action on Red Cuba. This is known on Capitol Hill and already one paper, the Washington *Daily News*, has reported (September 22) that an "act on Cuba" faction in the Administration, reportedly led by Bobby Kennedy, has been pressing the President to "do something" about Cuba. The Palace Guard around JFK, led by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and McGeorge Bundy, strongly resists these demands.

However, in the Senate there are some who think Kennedy may soon be in a mood to "do something"; not because of any new-found determination to be tough with the Reds, but because he fears the Democratic party may lose congressional seats in the coming election. Cognizant of such a possibility, some Senators place renewed hope in forcing a reluctant White House to impose a strict naval blockade on Cuba, as the first preliminary step in decontaminating this Red infection in the Caribbean (as advocated by General Wedemeyer, see HUMAN EVENTS, September 29). Strangulation of the Red shipments of military material and troops into Cuba would make less costly any later invasion by the military forces of our anti-Castro Latin American neighbors.

Senators, mulling over such considerations, believe a naval blockade would stand the best chance of being adopted by a White House fear-ridden now with thoughts of defeat at the polls in November by an aroused citizenry. The legislators believe a naval blockade proposal might be seen by the White House as an effective means of allaying popular discontent.

Mississippi and Cuba: President Kennedy got things moving in Mississippi with—no one doubts—firm intentions to resolve that heated situation without using federal troops. He ended by invading a sovereign state with the largest movement of federal troops since the Reconstruction era.

During the 1960 election campaign, candidate Kennedy said, "There is more power in the Presidency than to let things drift, and then suddenly to call out troops." All political reporters knew he was slapping at President Eisenhower who in 1957 sent federal troops into Little Rock, Arkansas.

There is general agreement in Washington that JFK thought he could prevent the Mississippi situation from "drifting" by putting US marshals on the scene. The upshot was that he sent in not only marshals (and what marshals!), but also approximately 15,000 federal troops in uniform, Army forces (even some Marines), paratroopers, Air Force and even artillery, all in battle dress.

What happened to the President and his "firm intentions" not to use troops? Opinions in the Capital differ, but all agree he stayed right on the job over the weekend, so the responsibility was his. (Wits remarked that Governor Ross Barnett accomplished one thing: He kept JFK in Washington for a whole weekend—an occurrence not noted for many months despite a tense international situation and a hectic congressional scene.)

Could JFK's motive have been political, rather than "law and order"? This is a highly political town, often criticized as "cynically political," and some old journalistic hands deserve the appellation. However, it was the always relaxed "elder statesman" of the New York *Times*, Arthur Krock, who said it was "political." His words carry persuasion since the *Times* is pro-Kennedy.

Commenting (September 30) on the Oxford crisis, Krock said, "Politics, which should have no place in this constitutional crisis, is already deeply involved."

In his piece, Krock observed that JFK had "increased his voting strength for the time being among groups where he was strong already." The New York *Times* writer at the time did not know whether JFK would remain "firm" or not against demands for "sending in the troops." He said that only a "backdown [by JFK] which no political rhetoric could disguise" could crack this "political strength." Hence—faced with a dilemma—JFK at first vacillated (recall the postponement of his Sunday night, September 30, broadcast), then came down irrevocably on the side of the big battalions.

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Yet even during the feverish days and hours of the crisis, it was evident that many people in the country had a perspective other than politics, racism, state sovereignty, etc. A veteran Capitol Hill reporter told HUMAN EVENTS that "almost everyone I talk to here is asking: Why troops to Mississippi instead of to Cuba?"

The liberal Washington *Post* (September 30) reported that at a football game in Jackson 300,000 postcards were distributed; the cards bore a message to the President urging him to concentrate on Castro and Cuba and not on Mississippi.

The New York *Mirror's* remark (October 1 editorial) was significant: "The battle for Mississippi has proved the President can mobilize quickly if he wants to. Ergo, why not Cuba?"

But not only the South and New York City seem similarly aroused. The Omaha *World-Herald*, known widely as "the authentic voice of the Middle West," ran an editorial—reprinted in the East—as the crisis developed. It said: "An Administration which cannot find it in its heart to enforce the Monroe Doctrine and which heaps scorn upon those who would do so is prepared to use guns to enforce school integration in Mississippi.

"It would seem to many Americans that the Administration's great talents for evasion, which so far have kept this country from coming to grips with the Cuban problem, might be better employed in endeavoring to solve a problem of school integration without the use of bayonets."

President's Popularity: In a move which seemed rather puzzling—since President Kennedy's popularity is alleged by some to be very high—freshman Ohio Republican Representative Charles A. Mosher last week extended, by letter, an open invitation to the President to visit his District. The Ohioan says he would be honored if the President came to campaign against him.

> **"I am confident," said Mosher, apparently unafraid that Kennedy's supposed charm might rub off on his opponent, "that I speak for most of the residents of Ohio's 13th District when I invite you enthusiastically to visit our District this fall."**

While many felt Mosher might perhaps be biting off more than he could chew if the President actually did make an appearance, political pros were saying that Mosher was being less courageous than cagey. They—and no doubt Mosher himself—recall what happened in South Dakota when the President went on his much advertised "non-political" tour.

The main public opinion poll in South Dakota, sponsored by various newspapers, shows that in three of the four key races the Republican picked up a good number of percentage points after the visit by the President who, as HUMAN EVENTS reported, drew a smaller crowd than Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) did in the same state one day later. In the wake of Kennedy's visit, Representative E. Y. Berry picked up at least one percentage point in popularity; Representative Ben Reifel picked up three; and Senator Joseph H. Bottum, Jr., four. Governor Archie Gubbrud dropped three points, but he is still far and away favored to win re-election.

Congressman Mosher's invitation to the President has yet to be answered by the White House.

Marshals: The University of Mississippi board of trustees (not to be confused with the eminently political Governor Ross Barnett) has issued a statement on the disorders in Oxford, the key responsibility for which they pin on the deportment of the US marshals sent to the scene by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

"Trigger-happy marshals" has now become a phrase used on Capitol Hill in explaining the confusing episode on the Oxford campus. Bobby Kennedy has defended his marshals. Senator James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.) vows to carry on a Judiciary Committee investigation of the episode in which he undoubtedly will call the marshals.

Marshal James J. P. McShane was field commander of the group. Reports the *Wall Street Journal*: "At least one of Mr. McShane's previous headline appearances was embarrassing. He and an Israeli army doctor were the only persons watching over convicted spy Robert Soblen during an airplane ride to the US from Israel on July 1. The prize passenger never made it. He slipped a steak knife off his food tray and under his blanket and while Mr. McShane was in the washroom, Soblen stabbed himself."

Walker and Psychiatry: Major General Edwin A. Walker has been put in a psychiatric ward and is not now permitted to post bail. The Chicago *Tribune* remarks that "the present Administration seems to have altogether too great an attachment to the procedure of railroading people into psychiatric wards."

The *Tribune* recalls that Mary K. Jones, a Department of Agriculture clerk who knew something about the Billie Sol Estes case, found herself railroaded for ten days into a psychiatric hospital, finally released as "of sound mind." The *Tribune* says: "If General Walker has committed an offense, his right is to be tried in a court, not to be humiliated."

• The ultra-liberal Washington *Post* also sided with the *Tribune* in the case of Walker. Despite the paper's obvious dislike for the general, a *Post* editorial remarked: ". . . he ought not to be denied reasonable release on bail and he ought not be committed to a mental institution even for examination without the precautions customary in the case of such a commitment."

Suppressed Document: The Administration, it is now reliably reported, has thrown its full weight behind a move to suppress a new and explosive study of East-West trade prepared for the government by the National Petroleum Council some six months ago.

This study, according to a wholly reliable informant, gave the Administration far more than

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it had bargained for. The over-600-page document reportedly shows a massive conflict of interest on the part of top government officials who are furtively pushing for expanded trade and aid to Soviet bloc countries.

Our source, high in the councils of government, assures us that these top officials would stand to reap enormously lucrative profits if the West decides to break down its own self-imposed barriers to East-West trade. If this report is ever revealed to the public, says this same person, who has seen the document himself, it might "very well blow certain Administration officials out of their jobs."

Senator Kenneth Keating (R.-N.Y.) last July accused the Administration of holding up this report. Allegedly the Administration has since told the National Petroleum Council, a quasi-governmental agency, to come up with another study which should come out in October.

The possibility of a conflict of interest on the part of Administration officials desiring expansion of trade with the Soviet bloc is not entirely new. Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, chairman of the task force which issued a report calling for expansion of trade with the Soviet Union, was accused of having a conflict of interest when he wrote the report because he was at that time still a member of a law firm which represents a number of foreign companies. As far back as 1952 Ball himself was registered as an agent for Comite Franc Dollar, an organization of French export manufacturers. Ball subsequently resigned and personally stands to receive no profit.

California: Despite the recent results of the California Field Poll—taken before Richard Nixon's hard-hitting attacks on Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown for being soft on subversives—the former Vice President is said by reporters in California to be gaining ground against the incumbent.

All reports indicate that the ex-Vice President, unlike his sorry performances against Kennedy in 1960, scored heavily in his TV debate with Brown, who appeared very inept. Nixon, report the newspapers, also drew more applause than Brown.

The Republican nominee for Governor scored his biggest single thrust against Brown when he asked him if he would continue to support two California Democratic Assemblymen who, Nixon charged, "helped to lead the riots against the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco." Brown said he would.

What is also said to be causing some anxious comments about the Governor's ability to be tough on Reds is a recent Fulton Lewis, Jr., column in which Lewis says Brown's press aide, Wayne Harvard, refused to repudiate on behalf of Brown the support of the notoriously left-wing International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Asked repeatedly by a Lewis assistant if Brown would specifically repudiate the support of the ILWU, bounced from the CIO in 1950 for Communist leanings, Brown's press aide said he would call back in 20 minutes. When he did call back, he read a carefully worded statement saying Brown repudiates "all Communists and Communist groups." Again asked if Brown would specifically repudiate the support of the ILWU, Brown's aide said: "I am sorry, I can say no more."

Expropriation: In the final throes of the foreign aid debate last week, Senators on both sides of the aisle unleashed a volley of charges against the State Department, accusing it of flagrantly ignoring an amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Act of 1961 which specifically requires the suspension of aid to any country which expropriates American property without due compensation.

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa), second ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, charged that ". . . specific instruction had gone from our State Department, to our representatives abroad to soft pedal this amendment"—opposed by the Administration in the first place.

Senator Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.), chairman of a Senate subcommittee on Latin American Affairs, said: " . . . there is a deliberate attempt on the part of the State Department to ignore and evade the law . . . I consider [the Department officials] to be guilty of malfeasance in office . . ."

What specifically prompted this rash of outbursts by the Senators was an "agrarian reform" law passed by the Honduran government on September 30. This law, according to Senator Hickenlooper, establishes a commission with the right to seize foreign property, provides no specific method of payment and grants no appeal. "In short," said Hickenlooper, "the commission could do as it pleased . . . and it has openly announced that its purpose is to seize American property in Honduras." In addition, the person appointed chairman of the agency, it is reported, had just returned from a visit to Cuba where, it is remarked, he was learning from the experts on expropriation.

Yet, said Hickenlooper, "I know of no vigorous protest" from the State Department against the law. Moreover, Thomas E. Sunderland, President of United Fruit Company, in a letter to the State Department stresses that Honduran officials believe the law has the tacit approval of the United States. And Honduras, apparently, still expects to get American foreign aid if it confiscates American property.

Educational TV: While a $32 million proposal for federal subsidies to schools using educational television was discussed in Congress last week, Ohio Republican Representatives Frank T. Bow and John M. Ashbrook were urgently calling to the attention of public school boards a new and cheap method of installing ETV announced by the Federal Communications Commission last July.

GLYNN V. PURDY, Church of Christ, Alexandria, La.: "There is no secular publication which has come to my attention that I appreciate more, or makes a greater contribution to our American heritage, than HUMAN EVENTS."

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This announcement, reported by HUMAN EVENTS on September 22, shows that this new method would make ETV so cheap that federal subsidies for installing it in the public schools are now deemed totally unnecessary. The importance of this cannot be overestimated in the view of many educators. With no federal subsidies, the schools will not have to bow to federal controls that inevitably follow government grants.

While the federal subsidies have been proved unnecessary, however, the federal-control-minded officials in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare want to see the legislation pass. Representative Bow drew the admission from HEW Under Secretary Ivan A. Nestingen during a House Appropriations subcommittee hearing that HEW had done nothing to inform school officials about the new and cheap system of ETV beyond replying to definite inquiries.

In addition, Arthur L. Harris of the US Office of Education revealed that educational television materials already have been worked up by educators named by a "public committee"—appointed by HEW and financed by federal money available under the National Defense Education Act. Harris was a member of the Committee on Missions, US Office of Education, which drew up the publication, *A Federal Education for the Future*, which favored federal regulation of public school curricula.

Capitol Camera: During the discussion last week on a proposal—later unanimously approved—to replace the decorative stars behind the Speaker's chair with the motto "In God We Trust" inscribed in gold letters, the only question raised was from Representative H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa). "I should like to ask," said Gross, needling the liberals, "if there remains enough gold in this country to install this lettering?"

• *The new Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz, sounds much like past Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg. In his address to the National Press Club in Washington, Wirtz was highly critical of right-to-work laws, sneeringly said the phrase was a "corruption" of the English language. On a recent "Meet the Press" program he forthrightly told reporter May Craig he favored compulsory unionism.*

• Conservatives on Capitol Hill hope Ev Mecham, GOP candidate for Senator in Arizona, will defeat incumbent Democrat Carl Hayden; they say Hayden's defeat would prove a telling blow to big spending in Congress. Reason: Senator Hayden, who has a poor record for economy, is Chairman of the key Appropriations Committee. If Mecham defeats Hayden, Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia would be entitled by seniority to succeed Hayden. Russell has a far better record for voting for economy than Hayden.

• *In the wake of the Mississippi outburst, the Potomac's political wit, Fletcher Knebel, wisecracked in the Washington* Evening Star: "The *federal government sent so many paratroops into Mississippi that if they'd over-shot a few miles, they might have taken Cuba by accident.*"

• Since President Kennedy promised last January to cut back on stockpile purchases, strategic materials in the stockpile have increased by close to $50 million. The total value at present is nearly $9 billion. Storage fees alone run close to $1.4 million a day.

• *The authoritative* Missiles and Rockets *magazine on September 24 ran the following item: "Russian trawlers carrying electronic gear to probe firing from Cape Canaveral now are based in Cuba. Wholesale cancellation of a number of missile firings on August 30 might have been due to their presence down range."*

• After jam-packing their way into Constitution Hall last week to celebrate "I-Miss-Ike-Night," Republicans came away not only appreciating Ike, but also ventriloquist Edgar Bergen, who drew one of the biggest laughs of the night from Ike when he asked puppet Mortimer Snerd what he thought of the New Frontier. Mortimer said, "it was fine, but I didn't think the boundary would end 90 miles from Florida."

• *Testimony before a House Appropriations subcommittee revealed that* $172,898,000 *of foreign aid funds have been earmarked for schools in foreign countries,* $30 *million of it for construction. Last year a school built in Kenya with US funds was closed because Kenya did not have the money to operate it.*

• Despite the fact that the average public school teacher's salary increased over $1,500 between the school year 1955-56 and the school year 1961-62, Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO recently urged a massive effort to bring a million members into a "strong teachers' union." Speaking before a convention of the 70,000-member American Federation of Teachers, Reuther said: "You can never have collective bargaining until you have a strong union." At the same convention, the president of the AFT upheld the teachers' "right-to-strike."

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

This is still a free country. You can vote for the Kennedy of your choice.

—Cocktail Circuit Wisecrack.

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October 13, 1962

A PAGE FROM ANCIENT HISTORY

P-S-ST! NOT SO LOUD, HARRY!
"IKE TO BLAME FOR CUBA! NO GUTS!" —HARRY TRUMAN.
PRES. TRUMAN'S CAVE-IN TO STALIN AT POTSDAM, 1945. — CAUSE OF BERLIN CRISIS.

Cuba No Threat?

From a letter to the Chicago *Tribune*

President Kennedy has announced that as yet there is no threat from the Communists in Cuba.

This reminds me of the time Jack Dempsey, seconding the late Max Baer in his losing fight with Joe Louis, tried to revive Baer's confidence by assuring him at the end of each round that Louis hadn't put a glove to him.

After about three rounds of this, the almost blind Max whispered to Dempsey: "Jack, keep your eye on that referee. Somebody is knocking hell out of me."

—L. S. I., Oak Park, Ill.

NO TIME FOR RULE BOOKS—"But when you are out killing rattlesnakes in a state like South Dakota, for example, where we have some in the prairie country, you don't spend too much time looking at the rule books and the Marquis of Queensbury rules to find out what is the appropriate way to fight a rattlesnake. And a Communist is a rattlesnake as far as the freedoms and security of the people are concerned." **(Senator Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota Republican)**

JFK's Big 1960 Promises About Cuba

In the light of developments of the past 20 months, there is a hollow sound to JFK's glowing promises about Cuba, made when he was seeking the Presidency in 1960. Why not write a "letter to the editor" using these quotations? Here are a few of them:

"I want people to wake up all over the world in the next years and wonder not what Mr. Khrushchev is doing or what Mr. Castro is doing. I want them to wonder what the United States is doing."—Candidate JFK, Queens, N. Y., October 27, 1960.

"Mr. Nixon hasn't mentioned Cuba very prominently in this campaign. He talks about standing firm in Berlin, standing firm in the Far East, standing up to Khrushchev, but he never mentions standing firm in Cuba—*and if you can't stand up to Castro, how can you be expected to stand up to Khrushchev?*"—Candidate JFK, Johnstown, Pa., October 15, 1960.

" . . . we must let Mr. Castro know that *we do not intend to be pushed around any longer* and in particular do not intend to be pushed out of our naval base at Guantanamo or denied fair compensation for American property he has seized."—Candidate JFK, Johnstown, Pa., October 15, 1960.

" . . . *we must let Mr. Khrushchev know that we are permitting no expansion of his foothold in our hemisphere.*"—Candidate JFK, Johnstown, Pa., October 15, 1960.

"I am not satisfied to have the hand of the Communists move 3,000 miles from East Berlin to our former good neighbor in Cuba, only 90 miles from the coast of Florida, only eight minutes by jet."—Candidate JFK, Washington, D. C., September 20, 1960.

"If communism should obtain a permanent foothold in Latin America . . . then the balance of power would move against us and peace would be even more insecure."—Candidate JFK, New York City, September 14, 1960.

UNANSWERED QUESTION—"An automobile accident, in which a Presidential aide and his family, being driven by an Army sergeant, were injured while on their way to spend a weekend at Camp David, Presidential mountain hide-out, has raised the question here as to whether White House assistants should be entitled to use of government cars and chauffeurs, or to enjoy use of tax-supported Presidential retreats maintained and guarded at the taxpayers' expense." **(Representative Clarence J. Brown, Ohio Republican)**

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Labor's Campaign Contributions

By WILLIAM SCHULZ

THE CAMPAIGN COFFERS of a half-dozen Senate Democrats will be filled to overflowing this fall by powerful labor chieftains operating out of Washington and Detroit.

It should surprise no one. The assorted solons have earned the dough.

Labor money has begun to flow to Wayne Morse, the terrible-tempered senior Senator from Oregon. The maverick Democrat—once a Republican, once an independent—received $40,700 in campaign funds from various labor groups in his last race, in 1956.

The investment paid off many-fold. Since that campaign, Morse has cast 34 votes termed vital by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE). All but one has been considered "pro-labor." Morse is expected to receive aid from the same groups that helped him in 1956:

COPE, the United Steelworkers, the Machinists' Non-Partisan Political League, Railway Labor's Political League, the Trainmen's Political Education League and the Amalgamated Political Action Fund.

Colorado's perennial candidate, John A. Carroll, finally won election to the Senate in 1956 with the aid of $18,000 contributed by five different union groups.

Since that time, Carroll has cast 41 key votes, every one of which is considered "pro-labor" by COPE. Carroll's Republican opponent is Representative Peter H. Dominick, whose COPE voting record is 100 per cent "wrong."

Certain to receive labor largesse is Pennsylvania's far-left Joseph S. Clark, the Philadelphia blueblood elected to the Senate by a whisker in 1956. A major reason for that win was $28,650 contributed to his campaign by the following union bodies:

United Auto Workers' CIO Political Action Committee, COPE, United Steelworkers, the Machinists' Non-Partisan Political League, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union's 1956 Campaign Committee, the Trainmen's Political Education League and the Amalgamated Political Action Fund.

Since receiving his $28,650, Clark has cast 36 votes on labor-management issues. All 36 are classified by COPE as "in labor's interest."

Idaho is a small state with few union members. Seven separate labor groups, however, made contributions to the 1956 campaign of baby-faced Frank Church. The $14,650 helped Democrat Church win election over GOP incumbent Herman Welker.

More labor aid is expected again this year as Church tackles Frank Hawley, a former state legislator who beat Church ten years ago in his first try for public office.

Washington Democrat Warren G. Magnuson was considered "unbeatable" in 1956. Just to make sure, union groups across the country sent $21,000 into the state for his campaign.

Magnuson since has cast 31 votes on vital issues. All but one, says COPE, were "pro-labor."

Missouri's Thomas Hennings received $9,500 from various labor organizations in 1956. He subsequently cast 26 "pro-labor" votes without a miss until his death in 1960. His successor, Edward V. Long, is ten-for-ten in labor's book. Long expects substantial labor aid this fall. His opponent is conservative Republican Crosby Kemper, Jr.

Other candidates slated to receive Big Labor help this fall include:

1. Kentucky Lieutenant Governor Wilson Wyatt, Jr., a past president of Americans for Democratic Action who takes on Republican incumbent Thruston B. Morton. Organized labor reported expenditures of $20,000 in 1956 to defeat Republicans Morton and John Sherman Cooper, the latter for the unexpired four years of the late Alben Barkley's term.

2. Birch Bayh, who won the right to oppose Indiana's Homer E. Capehart. Republican Capehart's last opponent, former Agriculture Secretary Claude Wickard, received $29,400 in labor contributions.

3. Maryland Representative Daniel B. Brewster, who is running for the Senate seat now held by Republican John Marshall Butler. The Republican candidate is former Representative Edward T. Miller. Brewster has cast but one "anti-labor" vote in his entire congressional career. George P. Mahoney, who ran against Butler in 1956, received 16 different campaign contributions from seven union groups. They totaled $28,500.

4. Representative Sidney R. Yates of Chicago, Democratic opponent of Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen. Representative Yates has chalked up a near-perfect (48 right, 3 wrong) COPE voting record. Dirksen's last opponent, Democrat Richard Stengel, received $26,500 in organized labor funds.

5. Wisconsin Governor Gaylord Nelson, candidate for the Senate against Alexander Wiley. Democrat Nelson received more than $43,000 from assorted labor groups in his 1960 campaign for the statehouse. Wiley's last Democratic opponent, Henry Maier, received campaign funds totaling $9,500 from Big Labor in 1956.

6. Elwood B. Smith, Democratic opponent of Iowa's Bourke Hickenlooper, chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee. Hickenlooper's last opponent, R. M. Evans, received $8,500 in campaign funds in 1956 from COPE and Railway Labor's Political League.

7. Former Representative George S. McGovern, who regularly received labor aid when he represented South Dakota's 1st District in 1957-61. McGovern tried for the Senate in 1960 against Republican Karl Mundt. He was defeated despite massive labor financial aid. Six years ago, organized labor spent $5,150 in a futile attempt to elect Kenneth S. Holum to the Senate. McGovern will receive solid labor support in his effort to unseat Senator Joseph H. Bottum, Jr., this year.

8. State Senator Richard Richards of Los Angeles, who has challenged Republican Thomas H. Kuchel once again. Democrat Richards, who ran unsuccessfully against Kuchel in 1956, received $14,500 in campaign aid from Big Labor for his effort that year.

HOW TO GET ON IN THE WORLD—"Attorney General Robert Kennedy, asked by a student whether having a brother in the White House was a disadvantage in his job: 'No—a great advantage. I don't knock it. . . . About 11 years ago I was just a lawyer in the Justice Department, making $4,200 a year. Then I worked very hard and I was bright and now I'm attorney general.' "(Cleveland Plain Dealer)

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Goldberg Was JFK's Buffer

By VICTOR RIESEL

THERE WILL BE no one now to run interference for the President against the heavyweights of labor. There will be no one who can whip up those swift, private, off-the-record White House meetings to unsnarl a steel dispute. Or, as I discovered in Berlin last July, there will be no one able to put in an overseas call to a traveling US labor chief and get immediate action on some strike crisis.

Now that Arthur Goldberg is Mr. Justice, the President will personally have to carry the ball. And, brother, he will find himself in more scrimmaging come the season right after Election Day than any President in decades.

The labor men plan to tackle him directly. They already were critical of "Arthur" acting as a buffer between them and the President. From now on they want a clear field—just them and "Jack" Kennedy —just as in the days of Harry Truman and FDR.

To get a clearer understanding of why there is not, and will not be another Arthur Goldberg, one should, for example, know what happened at the off-the-record luncheon given the national labor leaders August 8 by President Kennedy.

At noontime that day, the country was in several labor crises. Vast tonnage of vital traffic was being threatened by a dispute which would choke off the Great Lakes. Paul Hall's Seafarers were picketing over the manning of some Canadian ships.

As husky Paul Hall, an AFL-CIO vice president, was introduced to the President that noontime, Goldberg said:

"Mr. President, this is Paul Hall. Paul, perhaps you would like to give the President right here the assurance that you will halt the picketing on the locks of the Great Lakes."

Hall was startled. He said no. But Goldberg had made his point. The President was personally watching this one.

A half hour later, at the luncheon table, Goldberg called out to the other maritime leader, Big Joe Curran, head of the National Maritime Union. Curran's men were striking the nuclear ship Savannah.

"Perhaps you would like," Goldberg suggested across the table, "to assure the President that you will halt the strike on the Savannah."

Big Joe, considered mighty militant by many, was surprised. The Savannah is a vital government experiment in atomic marine propulsion. In what always sounds to me like a fast drawl, he agreed to seek action to end the crisis. Then, to top his old friend Goldberg, Curran said that the least the President could do would be to autograph a menu in exchange. This the President did.

There have been a thousand such incidents since early '60 when "Arthur" first began arranging labor breakfast conferences for "Jack." These were to introduce Senator Kennedy to men he never really knew —and without whose aid he could not have been nominated or elected.

President Kennedy never forgot this—nor his pledge that Arthur Goldberg would go to the Supreme Court. Mr. Kennedy needed Goldberg as labor grew more militant and restless under the Administration's pay guidelines.

Thus when Justice Whittaker resigned from the bench, Robert Kennedy telephoned the distinguished Bernard Segal, then head of the American Bar Association Committee on the Federal Judiciary. Bob Kennedy inquired of the qualifications of several men—but not of Arthur Goldberg.

At about that moment, President Kennedy telephoned Goldberg.

"I would like," said the President, "to appoint you. But you are indispensable."

"Mr. President," said Goldberg, "give me forty-eight hours and I'll make myself dispensable."

That was some five months ago. Since then the labor storms have swirled around the White House with wind-tunnel intensity. During each crisis Goldberg literally flew into the core of the storm. He handled harbor crises, rail crises, aviation crises, aerospace crises, submarine construction crises and averted open civil war inside labor.

In most cases, the labor leaders, old friends and colleagues of his, deferred to him personally—and not only because he was the Secretary of Labor of the United States saying, "The President would like you to. . . . "

From now on John F. Kennedy will have to say that himself directly to many national labor chiefs. That in itself could be a full-time job. He may have to moonlight to get in the rest of his chores.

(Distributed 1962 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

'Reverse Seniority' Soon?

You will soon be learning a new phrase "reverse seniority"—the next union demand.

Here's the background: Until a couple years ago, automobile companies avoided layoffs by operating a plant three days during the week when there was not enough work for five days. But three days a week meant no unemployment benefits. So Reuther forced the companies to give five full days' work to all those called out and completely lay off the rest of the employes so they could collect benefits. According to collective bargaining agreements, the full week's work has to be given to high-seniority employes while unemployment benefits go to the junior workmen. But unions are now demanding that layoffs be made by "reverse seniority"—to those with the greatest seniority, not to junior workers.

Reason: For UAW workers, idleness is to be preferred to employment because the total sum that can be collected each week in nontaxable unemployment checks plus supplemental unemployment benefits, though a little less than a full week's pay, is considered by many UAW members now to be preferable to working five days. That advantage will be even more desirable if Reuther achieves his next objective, to prevent the companies from giving "overtime" employment. He wants to force additional employment.

The entire Reuther program adds enormously to employer costs. The more the benefits charged against him, the higher his unemployment insurance rate. The immediate increase in costs is paid by employers; the ultimate cost, by the public.

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The American public has been led to believe that government farm control programs are designed to "help the poor little farmer." Did you know that this "little help" has cost the taxpayer $86 billion since 1933? Besides the program has been a futile effort in curing the so-called "farm problem"!

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The underlying plans of the Kennedy Administration, if enacted into law, will completely socialize food production and marketing—New Frontier style.

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4. Names the big-city Congressmen who have betrayed their consumer-constituents by voting for higher taxes and higher food prices.
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6. Illustrates with specific case histories what happens to farmers under government programs.
7. Shows how the public is being sold on the need for farm subsidies and the farmers enticed to join government farm schemes.

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Section Three
October 13, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

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Effective Letter Writing

To Your Editor . . .

"The writer does the most who gives his readers the most knowledge, and takes from them the least time."

So, when you write to a newspaper or other publication,

KEEP IT:

Brief

Most letters should be no more than 200 or 300 words, as space is limited. You will be sharing the "Letters to the Editor" column with other correspondents on a variety of subjects. Most likely, your letter will be triggered by a recent news story or editorial, and it is not necessary to restate the entire premise before launching your views. Of course, limit the subject of your letter to just one topic, news story or editorial; make your points quickly and cogently.

Pointed

If you don't have well-developed, firm opinions on an issue, don't bother to write. Both editors and their readers enjoy and react to a letter that has fact, feeling and direction. Unless you have something positive to suggest or correct, something informative and useful for the readers, your letter will accomplish little. Be direct, to the point and *above all be sure of your facts.*

Timely

First impressions are the strongest, and so is the first impact of the news. Particularly, if the original news story is erroneous or misleading, corrections should be made immediately because readers are apt to "digest" the fallacy if the facts come too late. How often have you heard, "Of course it's true, I read it in the paper just this morning?" Editors give priority to letters commenting on a story while it is still news; next week may be too late. Write your letter the same day you read or hear the editorial or news story.

Conciliatory

Even though a news story or editorial may malign one of your pet programs or seem unduly opinionated, do not respond with a sarcastic, combative letter. Emotionally charged letters get high readership but at the expense of the writer's embarrassment when he sees his hot temper in cold print. If the editorial writer or reporter has been unreasonably critical, point out his errors as factually and politely as possible, correct or amend them, and extend the offer of your services or more information if desired. Above all, you can't intimidate an editor by threatening to cancel your subscription; torrid letters only help increase his circulation.

From material prepared by the American Medical Association.

On the other hand, don't feel that an untruth is too gross to be dignified by an answer; silence is sometimes the severest indictment, and an unchallenged fallacy always carries more weight with those who wish to believe it.

Identified

Always sign your letter with your full name and address; also your professional title if it is pertinent to the subject. Anonymous letters lack courage and conviction, and editors seldom print them. Letters with pseudonyms are usually discarded because editors check on the authenticity of both content and correspondent; however, your name may be withheld upon request if circumstances warrant, but these occasions are rare. Do not ask the editor to reply to your letter or to return your manuscript. Address your letter:

Letters to the Editor
Name of Newspaper or Magazine
City State
(Dear Sir:)
or
Mr. John S. Doe
Managing Editor
Name of Newspaper or Magazine
Address
(Dear Mr. Doe:)

Now, before sealing the envelope, ask yourself:

. . . Is this the best, tightly-knit letter I can write?

. . . Did I really get to the point? Is it important? Why?

. . . If I were the editor, would I print this letter?

If you can answer YES, congratulations! You are about to be a "published author"!

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To Your Congressman . . .

"Dear Sir: Fellow on the radio says to write your congressman so just thought I'd drop you a line. Yours truly."

This is the easy way to write to your senator or congressman, but it won't get much action!

Many people think *any* letter to Washington is just a waste of time, but nothing could be further from the truth. Congressmen pay attention to their mail. They have to, because the writers' views form a major listening post for voter sentiment on pending legislation.

Who reads them ?

A surprising amount of the letters to congressional offices are read carefully by the congressmen themselves. Those that aren't are handled by key staff personnel who notify their bosses of the contents. Newspapermen who check lawmakers' offices for stories are often startled at the legislators' extensive knowledge on who is writing in and about what.

Form letters and petitions

Form letters with identical wording, long telegrams signed by lists of people, mimeographed petitions and other "bulk" entreaties carry little or no weight in Washington. The legislators know from experience that sudden outpourings, with suspicious similarity, are largely from disinterested persons who were goaded into signing a form letter or petition by some lobbyist or political action group.

Be yourself and write your own letter

It is the carefully thought-out, individual letter that a lawmaker appreciates. Write to your senator or representative just as you would write to anyone else. The influence of your communication depends upon the point you make and the clarity with which you make it. Set forth exactly why you consider a bill good or bad, how you feel that it would affect you and your community.

Courtesy always

Threats, warnings and abuse merely antagonize congressmen. Effective mail is courteous, and the congressman is well aware, without reminding him in a letter, that he may be your "second favorite" candidate in the next election if he lets you down. Nor does he need to be wooed with a promise of "all-out" support at the polls if he votes the "right way." If you or your organization can muster votes at election time, he knows that, too. If you are pleased with the congressman's position on a bill or with his vote, write to thank and compliment him on his stand. This is important. Letters to a congressman for a job well done are altogether too rare.

Follow through

Almost all congressmen answer their mail, but if your reply is too noncommittal, a "canned" mimeographed statement or just a brief acknowledgment, write again to ask for more specific information, *e. g.*, precisely how he stands on the issue, how he feels toward its success and if he proposes to support or oppose it. It is highly unlikely that he will ignore your second "follow-up" request, and he will appreciate your proven interest in the bill. In short, persistence pays.

Timing

Another important factor is when you send your letter. A deluge of mail just as a measure is about to be voted on is much less effective than a single intelligent letter months before while the legislator is still formulating his opinions. When the bill is introduced, it is equally effective to send a copy of your letter (or a separate one) to the chairman of the committee to which it was referred. Sometimes a bill may never get out of committee for a floor vote. When possible, always refer to the bill under discussion by its name and number. Letters to the President of the United States can also be effective, and his staff assistants keep him fully informed on the balance of sentiment toward coming legislation.

Address your letters

Senators:	Senator John S. Doe Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. (Dear Senator Doe)
Representatives:	Representative James K. Roe House Office Building Washington, D. C. (Dear Congressman Roe)
The President:	The President of the United States The White House Washington, D. C. (Dear Mr. President)

Remember, never hesitate to write on timely, important topics to your editors and congressmen. Your views are important, and they want to know them. Encourage others to write, too, and reap the benefits of good citizenship!

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Section Four
October 13, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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Federal Job Retraining

A Costly Experiment Doomed to Failure

By EDWIN McDOWELL

Editorial Writer, *Arizona Republic*

In the late 19th Century, Robert Louis Stevenson wrote, "For my part, I travel not to go anywhere, but to go. I travel for travel's sake. The great affair is to move."

A good example of how the New Frontier has seized upon Stevenson's words can be seen in a bill, signed into law in March, providing for training unemployed workers with obsolete or insufficient skills. President Kennedy has hailed it as "perhaps the most significant legislation in the area of employment since the historic Full Employment Act of 1946." Ex-Labor Secretary Goldberg predicted it "will arm the nation with a powerful new weapon to help alleviate long-term unemployment and prepare workers to meet the challenge of technological change."

Despite these effusive rhetorical flourishes, however, the chances are excellent that the bill's performance will nowhere near live up to its promises. Let's see why not.

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT and Training Act of 1962 is the biggest Federal move into the area of job retraining. Last year's Area Redevelopment Administration program for aiding depressed areas included a $10-million allowance to retrain workers for new jobs, and Congress in the past has established training programs for specific trades and occupations.

But this act far surpasses past efforts in that it is general in scope, costing the Federal government $435 million during the next three years. (States will be required to provide 50 per cent of the program's cost after the second year.)

Like so much that has been signed into law on the New Frontier, the bill is a hodge-podge of ambiguity and ambition. Power is vested primarily in the Secretary of Labor, who will assess and report on the nation's manpower needs, and who has authority to test, counsel and approve training for applicants. On him also falls the responsibility of fixing subsistence and transportation expenses of workers training away from home.

Furthermore, despite the ostensible original purpose of the bill, it will in no wise be limited to workers affected by automation. In fact, an estimated 100,000 of the 350,000 workers scheduled to receive on-the-job training will be under 21 years of age, and it's doubtful that the youths, just out of school, could so soon be victims of technological obsolescence.

In addition, some of the skills workers will be taught (*e.g.*, accounting, elementary teaching, psychiatric social work) would seem to lie more properly within the province of colleges or business schools than within the purview of a government retraining program.

Not only is the program wrong in principle (in that, as Representative Bruce Alger pointed out, it will replace or subordinate private, local and state agencies), but it suffers from another major deficiency. And that is simply this: based on results of similar programs so far, it is unlikely to come anywhere near justifying such a massive expenditure of tax funds.

FOR EXAMPLE, the first Federal experiment took place in West Virginia, in an area where some 6,000 unemployed were on relief. Of 1,015 jobless considered most likely to profit from retraining, only 479 even bothered taking the aptitude tests. Of these, less than half were sufficiently qualified to enroll.

A similar retraining program in California, under the recent Smith-Collier Act, drew only 100 applicants in six months.

When a state employment service tested some 400 men who had been laid off by a meat-packing company in Oklahoma City, it discovered that only 60 to 170 could benefit by retraining, and only 58 of them enrolled in the course.

In Providence, Rhode Island, officials lined up 178 jobless to begin retraining, but when the program finally was approved two months later, only nine cared enough to report. Of 83 candidates in Ansonia, Connecticut, who took an aptitude test for a basic machine shop course, only 25 passed.

Retraining programs in private industry have fared little better. When Armour & Company offered eligibility tests for a retraining program, only 160 of 300 laid off bothered applying, and only 60 of those were capable of being retrained. When the Thompson Ramo Wooldridge Company undertook to train workers on relief rolls, only 20 passed the aptitude test and only 10 completed the necessary classroom and on-the-job training. Xerox Corporation offered to finance six weeks of retraining at Rochester Institute of Technology, yet only 68 of 178 eligible persons have enrolled since the training first was offered in 1959. A number of other companies (American Oil, Campbell Soup, Inland Steel, IBM, US Steel, Swift & Company, Ford and Martin Aircraft) also are engaged in retraining programs, but so far the results are not known.

This is not to criticize retraining programs undertaken by private industry. As a matter of fact, a House Republican Policy Committee report in mid-1961 described these private efforts as "quite successful." Considering the obstacles they face, it is probably true.

What they're up against can be seen in part by the reaction of a worker who lost his job when Mack Trucks moved from Plainfield, New Jersey, to Hagerstown, Maryland. Asked what he intended to do about future employment, he replied, "I'm in no hurry. I'm getting $80 a week [unemployment compensation plus severance pay], and my wife has a job. Besides, I'm 50 years old, and it's pretty late now to start something new."

His answer would seem to underscore the observation of the *Financial Times* of London that everyone seems to like the idea of retraining except the workers themselves.

(*continued on next page*)

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(*continued from preceding page*)

UNQUESTIONABLY, the successful retraining of unskilled workers, or workers whose skills are obsolete, is less expensive to taxpayers in the long run than keeping the unemployed on relief rolls. That's why conservatives generally have favored private industry retraining programs as well as local (Cleveland) and state (California, New Jersey) efforts in that direction.

(Interestingly enough, US Industries, Inc., recently developed a machine which can be adapted to teach typing, stenotyping, and comptometer and adding machine operation. Already it is retraining postal clerks in Washington, D. C., and in Detroit and Flint, Michigan, who were displaced by automatic letter-sorting equipment.)

But conservatives have scant reason to be optimistic over the costly Federal retraining act, realizing that it hardly can be expected to overcome the apathy of workers who would sooner collect unemployment benefits than learn new skills.

And, make no mistake, some workers would sooner collect unemployment benefits than learn new skills, just as they would sooner collect unemployment benefits than work for reduced wages.

The temporary unemployment benefits program signed into law last year provides for 13 additional weeks of unemployment benefits, raising the maximum length to 39. This may not be as lucrative for the jobless as the Administration-supported McCarthy-King Bill, a permanent program which would provide increased unemployment benefits up to 39 weeks, or the AFL-CIO-backed program that sets no time limit and guarantees take-home pay of up to 80 per cent of the worker's former salary. But it is generally conceded to be a considerable step in that direction.

TIME AND AGAIN we have been told that massive welfare programs do not encourage sloth or stifle ambition. Yet, when Newburgh, New York, was having its troubles with the Federal government last year because it wanted to adopt stringent relief measures, City Manager Joseph McD. Mitchell said, "We have a patrolman on our police force, married, with eight children. His pay comes to $242 a month. And he earns it. We have a 'family unit' of the same size with a number of illegitimate children in it, drawing $400 a month—and nobody's working."

(This is also a problem in England. Last July, Britain's National Assistance Board reported that fathers who prefer loafing to working are becoming an official problem. By remaining unemployed, the report noted, they can collect almost as much money in national assistance as they could by working at full-time jobs. In one case, it was discovered that a man who won a contest for the best-dressed male in his town had not worked for six years. He received national assistance the entire time.)

Is it any wonder, in view of generous welfare programs and supplemental funds (all tax-free, it should be noted), that many workers are unconcerned about being unemployed? Of some $31 million in assets of the United Auto Workers, that union's biggest single fund is its "international strike fund," which in 1959 provided $12.8 million to strikers. The International Association of Machinists spent more than $4.5 million that same year on strike-benefit programs.

Small wonder, then, that some workers have been union-inculcated with the notion that it's better to remain unemployed than to accept work at a reduced rate of pay. When Detroit's C. M. Hall Lamp Company was faced with the choice of either reducing wages 17 cents an hour or else moving to a cheaper labor area in the South, the UAW objected and refused to sign a contract. (To its credit, the local union agreed and thereby preserved its members' jobs.)

In Massillon, Ohio, workers at two plants of the Eaton Manufacturing Company rejected pay cuts of 16 cents an hour, even though they had been told the alternative probably would be that the company would have to move to Roxboro, North Carolina.

Union leaders at the Best Broom Manufacturing Company in Detroit similarly opposed a pay cut at a time when the company was faced with bankruptcy. (Once again workers took matters into their own hands by voting, in an NLRB election, to remove bargaining rights from the union and accept a 7 per cent pay cut.)

A hate-employer attitude on the part of union officials was prevalent during the International Union of Electrical Workers' three-week strike against General Electric in 1960. More than a year before expiration of the contract, IUE president James Carey threatened, "I owe GE a strike," and later insured that one was forthcoming by personally canceling the contract with the company several weeks before its expiration date. When workers at GE's Pittsfield, Massachusetts, plant voted better than 2 to 1 to accept GE's contract proposals, they were overriden by the international union's decision to strike. At GE's Schenectady, New York, plant, even after workers had voted not to strike, union bosses circulated petitions in favor of a strike, making it virtually mandatory for workers to sign. (Angered by the IUE's underhanded actions, and satisfied with GE's offer, the Schenectady local shortly thereafter defied the international union and voted to return to work, thereby ending Carey's plans for a lengthy walkout.)

BLAME FOR THIS no-work attitude lies not so much with the individual worker, but with union and government policies which encourage indolence and teach that workers have vested rights to jobs. And, make no mistake, those policies do just that.

When a New Jersey sweater manufacturing company tried to go out of business in 1958, the NLRB ruled that it was illegal, and further held the company responsible for its former employes' wages for the rest of their lives if they were unable to obtain new employment. (See "Labor and the NLRB Say No," *Human Events*, December 29, 1960.)

An Elmhurst, New York, company, which established a new plant in Pennsylvania and began closing its New York operation, offered jobs in its new location to five New York employes, members of the Teamsters Union, but without the seniority they had accumulated in Elmhurst. A Federal District Court dismissed the workers' claims for damages for violation of contract, saying the contract had expired and in any case could not be construed to cover the new plant location. But the Second Circuit Court reversed that decision, ruling that the five employes had, by their conscientious service, acquired "vested rights" the company could not unilaterally deny.

Similarly, a company planned to move from Detroit to a town in Tennessee in which the community had furnished a new plant on a 25-year lease, on condition that the workers would be recruited from that area. A UAW bargaining committee sued on behalf of employes, contending they had acquired by seniority a "vested right" to the jobs, plus transfer to Tennessee as soon as the plant began operations. Even though the company could not accept that contention and still live up to its agreement with the Tennessee town, a Federal district judge in Detroit ruled in favor of the union, saying that the rights claimed "extend beyond the time limitations of the collective bargaining agreement," that they apply to the company plant regardless of location and that the company had an obligation to rehire on the basis of seniority those employes laid off in Detroit, even though the move to Tennessee would terminate the union's role as bargaining agent.

Because of that decision, reported New York Times columnist Arthur Krock, the UAW is considering litigation to force at least three Detroit companies to transport workers with seniority status to new plants the companies are establishing in the South.

In September, 1961, a Federal arbitrator ordered a former Philadelphia blouse manufacturing company, Sidele Fashions, to return to the city from South Carolina within weeks or pay $355,066 as a "runaway shop." It was ordered to pay 225 former employes $61,939 for lost wages, with the stipulation that if it didn't return and continue operations at least until January 31, 1963, it would be required to pay $179,490 to the union health, welfare and retirement funds, plus $175,576 to offset union dues losses for a 20-year period beginning February 1, 1960. Although the company has appealed the ruling, it is a sad commentary on the prevailing mood of a nation which would penalize a company for moving when it no longer could pay an area's high labor costs and still remain competitive.

These problems, as unrelated as they might first appear, are just some which must be faced when considering a plan to retrain workers. For each is symptomatic of the reason retraining programs have largely met with failure and indifference. And each is in part symptomatic of the burdensome anchor—unemployment—retarding this nation's present and future economic growth.

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Section Five
October 13, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street S. E.
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Killing the Goose

Mexico's Compulsory Profit-Sharing

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The Mexican government has now armed itself with power to compel all companies, Mexican and foreign owned, to share their profits with the workers. A committee to be appointed by the president will decide the share that goes to the labor force.

To the left-wing Mexican Confederation of Workers, this scheme is a beautiful dream come true. To employers, it is a clear indication of advancing totalitarianism. To Americans who have invested $822 million in Mexico, and to nationals of other countries whose investment is an additional $300 million it is a device to burden them with all the risks of operating enterprises while the workers take the gains and the government takes the political credit.

Mexico has thus embarked upon a course which is a modern and more subtle variant of socialism, which used to be thought of as government ownership and operation of land and capital. Here private ownership and management are respected in form, but a growing share of the fruits of production is diverted by the state and handed over to groups whose political support is indispensable to the maintenance of political control.

Of course, there is to be no provision that the union members to come by the windfall are also to share the losses by taking pay cuts or providing supplementary labor. This is a one-way operation. It is based on economic lunacy, for it virtually assures that, in the long run, there will be no profits to provide plant expansion and modernization of equipment, without which there cannot be economic growth to enlarge the number of jobs.

The Mexican scheme enables the government and the workers to vent their ritual opposition to United States corporations, though they are in general the best employers in Latin America.

The unions of Latin America are in part Communist, in part Syndicalist and in part Socialist. None are "business unions" on the North American model, serving as collective bargaining agencies chiefly concerned with their members' interests in the workplace. To Mexican unions, American corporations are big, rich and foreign, taking wealth out of the country. They are an affront to nationalists who want to see their countrymen developing the nation's resources, and to Socialists who want public ownership.

The Mexican profit gouge thus is calculated to play up to these resentments and to make political capital for the governing group. It would not be characteristically Latin American if the politicians also did not make provision for graft. But they have seen to this by specifying that if the president's committee decides a company should be relieved of sharing its profits, a license of exemption is to be granted.

The Mexican scheme will make hash of President Kennedy's plan of an Alliance for Progress in Latin America, for this program rests upon large infusions of private capital. An American businessman who entered Mexico under the new conditions would promptly be kicked out by his stockholders. Maybe the Mexicans were encouraged in their venture by Mr. Kennedy's unequal dispositions in the steel industry, where labor was to be rewarded at the same time profits were frozen.

If so, he can credit himself with scuttling his Alliance for Progress so far as Mexico is concerned.

Foolish Foreign Aid

By WALTER TROHAN

Without going into the merits or demerits of the theory of foreign aid, it must be recognized that in practice the doling out of tax dollars has been an extravagant ballet of blunders and baloney. For one thing, how many Americans know that the name of the United States is not allowed to appear anywhere on any of the millions of bushels of wheat we are sending to Poland?

No doubt the benefiting Poles are told that the wheat is a gift of Russia. Technically, Poland is to pay for the wheat, but every American in the act knows that the Communist government will welsh on the promised payments through scaling-down negotiations. Prices are fixed, to begin with, on a paper valuation of zlotys, the coin of the Red regime, when the free market value is only a fraction of the decreed value.

Just how the wheat is going to promote love of America in Poland, when its leaders won't let the people know where the help is coming from, is something the foreign aiders don't spell out. This is a repetition of what happened to the billions the United States poured into the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at the end of World War II. Russian distributors of this aid obliterated evidence of American origin and distributed the aid as Russian, employing it to promote communism among recipient nations.

American military aid helped Fidel Castro to power, was employed by Jawaharlal Nehru in the conquest of Goa, and enabled the military to take over in Korea, Turkey and Ecuador.

American economic aid has fattened ruling cliques on graft and corruption. It has sent diet foods to the starving, built roads to nowhere, provided baths for camel drivers and dress suits for undertakers. Nothing has been too foolish or ridiculous to send good dollars after bad, it would seem.

STRANGE "LIBERALISM"—"It seems strange that after the centuries the liberals fought to place political power within a parliament, they now seek to take it away." **(San Diego Union)**

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Kokomo Urban Renewal

From the Indianapolis *News*

Those who believe there are no strings attached to Federal handouts should take a closer look at what has happened in Kokomo.

This rapidly expanding city, like many others, has been gripped by growing pains. Its growth is exceeding its capacity to provide such necessary services as sewers and improved streets for the spreading population. The Redevelopment Commission there has a continuing plan for increasing these services but not enough money is available from the local tax levy.

So Kokomo turned to the Federal government to see if it could obtain grants for this purpose. It found that it could, if it would accept certain specifications.

To qualify for Federal aid, the area in question must be subject to the kind of renewal the Federal government deems necessary. Houses in the area must be razed and new housing built, or the existing housing must be rehabilitated.

Kokomo Mayor John Miller saw this would mean displacing persons from homes that were reasonably good and relocating them. It meant a slum clearance program when there were no slums.

Rather than embark on so costly a program, for which there was no necessity, Kokomo shelved its plans for the time being for expanding its sewer and street program.

Meanwhile, the mayor, a vice president of the Indiana Municipal League, is seeking to have the American Municipal Association support changes in the law so that cities can obtain aid for streets and sewers without also engaging in a slum clearance program.

The situation in Kokomo illustrates clearly why Federal aid, aside from the fact that it is wrong in principle, can never be a satisfactory way for a community to solve its local problems.

Whenever Federal handouts are given, the rules for their use are made in Washington.

Fulbright vs. Jones

Said Arkansas Senator J. William Fulbright in an interview with Robert Taylor of the Washington *Star*, as quoted in *The Nation* of September 29:

"Those 'super-patriots' who get so concerned about what the Russians are doing [in Cuba] ignore completely that we are doing the same thing in many parts of the world."

FULBRIGHT

Statements like this indicating Fulbright's inner beliefs are having devastating effect upon Arkansas voters. Dr. Kenneth Jones, the Republican nominee, had been given little chance in the November election but is coming up at a phenomenal pace and is now credited with almost a 50-50 chance to win.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE—"The people who risk death to escape to the West are not desperate for a sirloin steak or a pair of nylons. They are desperate because they cannot endure the regimentation, the total lack of freedom." (Omaha World Herald)

Greece Likes US Surpluses

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

The American people hear a lot about the farm problem, how they have to pay billions in taxes to encourage the growth of unwanted surplus crops, how this costs a million dollars a day just for storage facilities and how the foolish program then makes the people pay higher prices for the food they buy.

Well, Americans are having trouble with the unsoundness of the politically-inspired price-support program, but Greece is profiting by it.

Premier Constantin Karamanlis of Greece has been telling his people he has really found a bonanza.

He is telling them to grow less wheat because it is cheaper for Greece to buy surplus American wheat supplies generated by our price-support program than it is for Greece to grow wheat for itself.

Premier Karamanlis was quite frank about it when he urged his farmers to cut down the "harmful and wasteful wheat production which is disadvantageous to the consumer." Greece, like the United States, has a price-support plan, but Caramanlis has hinted he will drop the wheat support unless his farmers shift to crops that are needed more than this one that he can get from us as a surplus commodity under "aid" programs.

Thus, it should be easy to see that to the highly-expensive, high-tax, high-price surplus programs this country has engaged in for so many years is being added more foolishness, as we shovel out the costly surpluses to foreign countries in the form of aid, while they switch to other crops.

What we ought to do in our own farm program is gradually reduce the unrealistic price supports until it becomes unprofitable to produce unwanted crops, thus returning to the basic economic law of supply and demand. This would cause farmers to raise the things that could sell in the market place at reasonable prices, relieving the American people of the tax cost of the surplus program and also removing the false stimulation that makes prices artificially higher.

LOVE THAT PLATFORM—"We positively love the New York State Democratic platform because it unveils a new pretty-pretty name for piling up public debt; namely, 'investing in the future.' Could any wordage be sweeter—or slicker—than that?" (New York Daily News)

Uncle Sam Collects—And How!

From the Los Angeles *Examiner*

PARIS, Ill., July 21—Employes of the U. O. Colson Company were given a graphic demonstration yesterday of how much they shell out in payroll taxes.

The company paid its employes their two weeks' earnings in cash. Workers were then escorted to a window where two men in Uncle Sam costumes collected money which normally would have been withheld by the company for Federal income and social security taxes.

The firm employs 270 workers in the manufacturing and distribution of calendars and specialty advertising products.

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RACES of the Week

By WILLIAM SCHULZ

This is the twelfth of a special series of "Races of the Week," a *Human Events* pre-election feature. For each week until election day, *Human Events* will present a detailed analysis of key election contests from coast to coast.

Idaho Senate Race

Jordan vs. Pfost

IDAHO'S Representative Gracie Pfost has done well by the Committee on Political Education (COPE), AFL-CIO. The Committee, in turn, has done well by Mrs. Pfost.

Four times since her first campaign, in 1952, COPE has authorized campaign contributions for her of $1,000 each. Mrs. Pfost has repaid the favor by voting the COPE line 49 times in 53 roll calls (through the First Session, 87th Congress).

COPE is by no means the only labor group to invest in Mrs. Pfost. Prior to the AFL-CIO merger in 1955, and the creation of COPE, the political arms of both labor organizations contributed to her campaign.

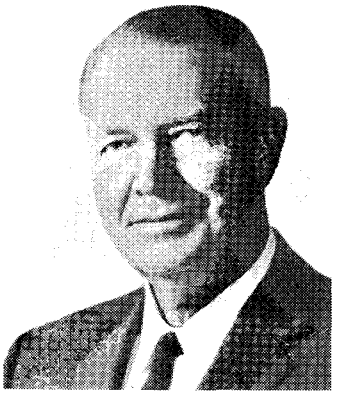
National Labor's League for Political Education, the AFL group, gave $500. The CIO's Political Action Committee forked over $1,000. Other labor groups which have contributed directly to Mrs. Pfost's campaigns include the United Steelworkers of America, the Amalgamated Political Action Fund, Railway Labor's Political League and the Machinists' Non-Partisan Political League.

Many of the same groups are expected to contribute generously this fall as Mrs. Pfost moves up the political ladder, challenging newly-appointed Senator Len Jordan for a four-year term in the US Senate. Jordan has never lost a statewide election.

COPE grants are expected, too, to be made to local COPE chapters for the Idaho elections. In 1960, for instance, National COPE sent $18,300 into Idaho earmarked for "general election purposes."

TARGET of the labor campaign is Republican Jordan, a former governor filling the seat of the late Henry Dworshak. Senator Jordan, a colorful rancher, is a staunch conservative.

Self-sufficient since age 15, the 63-year-old Jordan was elected governor in 1950 and served four years (then the limit for Idaho chief executives). His election margin in 1950 was one of the largest ever given a candidate in an Idaho election.



JORDAN

After leaving the governor's mansion, Jordan was appointed by former President Eisenhower to the US-Canadian International Joint Commission. He also has been a member of the 12-man International Development Advisory Board that studied the economic aspects of US foreign aid.

Senator Jordan has closely studied the voting record of Mrs. Pfost. He finds she rates 90 per cent liberal on the latest Americans for Democratic Action scorecard. Her 1961 Americans for Constitutional Action rating: 11 per cent conservative.

Early in the 87th Congress, Mrs. Pfost rose on the House floor to vote "aye" on a multi-billion-dollar public housing bill. Mrs. Pfost then voted, on the very next roll call, to hike the national debt limit by $13 billion. Says Senator Jordan:

"Mrs. Pfost may not know what $13 billion really is. In dollar bills, stretched end to end, $13 billion would reach from the earth to the moon and back more than 2½ times."

Mrs. Pfost claims to support "genuine" labor reform. The record indicates Mrs. Pfost voted in 1959 to recommit the Landrum-Griffin Act. When she saw this maneuver beaten, she switched sides, voting the next day for the very legislation she was on record as opposing.

Kansas' 1st District

Dole vs. Breeding

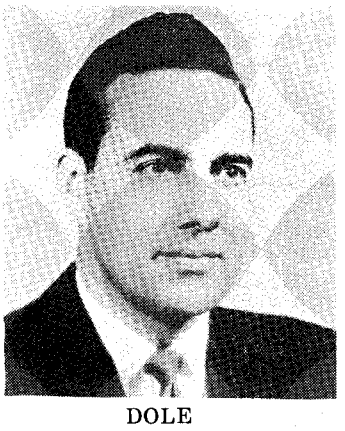
THE BIG NEW 1st Congressional District of Kansas, comprising 58 of the state's 105 counties and a population of 540,000 residents, is a real battleground this year. The opponents, first term Representative Bob Dole (Republican) and third term Representative J. Floyd Breeding (Democrat), thrown together because of redistricting, share little common ground. Dole is a vigorous conservative and, at 39, has a promising future. Breeding, a "rubber-stamp" New Frontiersman at 61, has continuing usefulness to the Kennedy Administration.

Dole has *opposed* and Breeding has *supported*:

1. Fines and jail sentences for farmers.
2. Mandatory agricultural controls, as advocated by Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman.
3. Aid to Communist countries.
4. Withholding taxes on interest and dividends.
5. Medicare financed through increased social security taxes.
6. The President's depressed areas bill.

These are but a few examples, but they point up clearly the very deep and basic differences in their philosophy.

LABOR HAS its eyes on this big agricultural district and is supporting Breeding all the way. Recently, Merle Worman, vice president of the Kansas State Labor Federation, indicated labor will work hard to keep labor's endorsed candidate (Breeding) in office. Big Labor should. Official figures compiled by the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, give Breeding a 100 per cent liberal voting record, Congressman Dole a zero.



DOLE

In addition to money and manpower from labor, Breeding has unlimited resources of his own as the owner of over 9,000 acres of land with oil and gas production on it. Dole, on the other hand, has no personal income outside his congressional salary and disability retirement pay.

While Breeding calls himself a "moderate," the record does not bear him out. The Americans for Democratic Action report his voting record is 90 per cent "liberally-oriented." (Dole's score: 0.) The Americans for Constitutional Action rated Breeding only 15 per cent conservative in 1961. (Dole: 92 per cent.)

Dole won election to Congress in November, 1960, succeeding a retiring Republican. A veteran of World War II, Dole lost use of his right arm in Italy. Wounded twice in 1945, Dole, an infantry platoon leader, was hospitalized for 39 months.

Dole came home to earn his college and law degrees, then became the youngest man in Russell County history to win election to the Kansas State Legislature.

Without a doubt, the big issue in the campaign will be Secretary Freeman, who has seen fit to inject himself into the race, and, of course, will do all he can to keep Breeding, one of the chief architects of mandatory farm programs, in Congress. Both Dole and Breeding serve on the Agriculture Committee, and Freeman would be most pleased to eliminate Dole who has consistently taken issue with Freeman on the Estes case, mandatory programs, using Federal funds to promote agricultural legislation and the shipment of grain to California, not for export but to aid the political future of Governor Pat Brown and the storage interests there. Freeman will visit the big 1st District on October 30 in a final effort to do a hatchet job on Dole. Dole's reaction is that he hopes Freeman "stays a week".

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More Letters from HUMAN EVENTS Readers

"Keep Up Your Present Policy"

CRESWELL, ORE.–Being ignorant of the complexities of publishing any sort of newsletter, I am glad that you have presented to readers of *Human Events* the truth of the situation. By all means keep up your present policy of essays, guest editorials and selected quotations from congressmen and conservative-minded newspapers over the land. Make the publication yield a modest profit. I am sure that those who hold *Human Events* in high esteem for its accuracy, promptness in reporting and diligence in cleaving to what is right, showing no partiality to any person or idea, will be loyal supporters even though subscription costs may have to be increased to meet the cost of publication and distribution. I am a sawmill worker and foreman with not too much left over after being looted by the Internal Revenue Service, social security, local taxes, *etc.* So I cannot afford to give much. I have embarked on the policy of laying my recent copies of *Human Events* on any well-kept doorstep in Eugene, Oregon, where I work, with a personal note asking that the dweller read and subscribe.

–Dwight Gifford.

Appealing Format Will Get More Readers

PHILADELPHIA, PA.–I feel the placing of *Human Events* on the newsstands along with the making of an appealing format would increase the number of readers many fold. This would help not only financially but also ideologically.

–W. D. Rinehart.

Promote Gift Subscriptions to High Schools

FLOSSMOOR, ILL.–If the subscription price is kept down many of us who would like to give a gift subscription or two will be better able to afford it. If possible, give thought to including an index once or twice a year. My *Human Events* goes to the local library used by many students. Get them even younger by promoting gift subscriptions to local high schools, their school library and the fourth-year economics department. My reason: I didn't go along with my son's course in economics.

–Mrs. J. W. Schwenger.

"Keep Up the Wonderful Work"

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.–In my opinion, *Human Events* has done more to restore constitutional government than any other publication. If the format can be changed so that *Human Events* could have newsstand distribution, your circulation would increase tremendously. Keep up the wonderful work.

–James W. Costin.

Deliver Us From A Welfare State

PANA, ILL.–After being a careful reader of *Human Events* for several years, I am persuaded that it is filling a place and answering a unique and most important and present need in national life. It is becoming more and more evident that unless there is a definite reversal of present trends in government, our economic and national life will in due time be a shambles. May God deliver us from the creeping paralysis of a welfare state.

–The Rev. Albert Rust.

The "Four Vital Questions" asked readers to choose from four choices:

1. Changing the *Human Events* format to magazine-style, enabling it to carry advertising and to be sold on newsstands. (Reprints of popular articles would still be available, printed exactly like present-sized reprints.)

2. The present 16 to 20 pages of *Human Events*, published in the present format but increasing subscription price sufficiently for *Human Events* to become self-sustaining.

3. Continuing 16 to 20 pages in the present format at the present price, making up the deficit with an annual drive for $150,000 to $200,000.

4a. Cut back to eight pages.

4b. Print only the four-page news section. Omit the rest.

Opposes Any Cut in Size

WINTERS, CALIF.–I would not want to see the size of *Human Events* cut. It is from the special articles that I gather so many points to brighten up my conversation. I have been in and out of the hospital for the last 1½ years, but hope this time will be the last. My belief in freedom has kept me going all this time. I have looked forward to each issue of *Human Events*. I read it and pass it on to some interested person.

–Mrs. C. E. Thompson.

Likes Human Events' Direct Approach

CHICAGO, ILL.–The influence of *Human Events* goes far beyond its subscribers; for instance, my wife and older children read most of the news– also many friends. I would estimate 400,000 to 500,000 persons read each issue. I am sure circulation can be greatly increased–if we can afford it! I like the direct approach, direct attack and exposure of facts which are publicized little in the newspapers. What we need is more exposure.

–John C. Trussell.

Present Plan Splendid

RENSSELAER, N. Y.–Decisions are hard to make in this case; the present plan is splendid but if it does not yield a profit, then some other plan must be found. I am just past 80, and my dear wife has been a semi-invalid for over 20 years. A small income aside from social security does not allow us to help by sending in a donation, but we do feel *Human Events* should continue as it is one of the best–no, the *best*–publication we are receiving. We trust you will be able to continue to grow and eventually turn the tide, and while turning the tide in government also turn the tide to profit for *Human Events*.

–Arlington C. Bauer.

"Chief Source of Information"

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.–I consider *Human Events* as my bible of conservatism. It has for the past five years served as my chief source of information and has been a great aid in forming and clarifying conservative principles for my wife and me. Above all else, we do not wish to see *Human Events* pass from the scene. If proposal No. 1 will do the best job of providing fiscal solvency and getting the conservative message to ever increasing numbers, I am all for it. Proposal 4a (or a combination of 1 and 4a) also has considerable merit.

–C. J. Litscher.

"Don't Be Reticent"

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.–The magazine approach would appeal to a great many people. I believe this and fund-raising could be tied together. Above all, don't be reticent to ask for donations. Many people will give an extra $10 gift a year who would object to a subcription increase.

–Jared Allen.

Favors Magazine

ATLANTA, GA.–By all means go to the magazine if that's what it takes to sell advertising. A great many folks would probably like to contribute and if they could buy advertising and thereby let some of the cost go as a business expenditure, it will benefit you as well as their business.

–Charles A. Kistiel, Jr.

Get the Message Out

FORT WAYNE, IND.–I have always liked *Human Events* as it has been published, even the size of the sheets, because I save them. But as for me, the most important thing is to get the message to the people, as much of it as possible to as many as possible and as soon as possible. There are too many asleep to conditions; too many do not want to hear or see; too many refuse to hear or see and many others refuse to believe things are as they are.

–Mrs. Chloe Elliot.

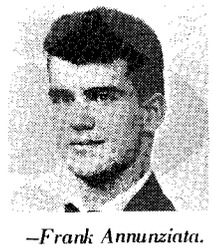
Patriotic Companies Will Advertise

ELKADER, IOWA–I think proposal No. 1 would solve your financial problems. I believe patriotic big companies who are fighting for private enterprise will not only advertise but pay for space to be used to enlighten your readers on many important aspects of the free enterprise system and the follies of socialism.

–W. B. Fassbinder.

Difficult to Render A Decision

BRONX, N. Y.–I am very sure that you have made a prudent choice in electing to have the subscribers choose their preference. It is difficult for me to render a decision on this matter because I cannot judge the overall picture.



–Frank Annunziata.

Keep Standards High

CHICAGO, ILL.–There may be a disadvantage to the choice I have checked on the reverse side. Since the newsletter is promoting ideas rather than a market commodity such as tooth paste, popularizing the contents of said newsletter to reach the masses may result in lowering the quality of the contents via oversimplification. The result could hurt rather than aid the cause of a free America. Keep your standards high, Gentlemen.

–Robert T. Le Beat.

Might Lose Readers With Price Increase

TOLEDO, OHIO–I approve a change of format to magazine style. In doing so, *Human Events* will be made available to many more people, and the advertisements will help pay the costs of publishing. If you raise the price of subscription I am of the opinion that you would lose more subscribers than the higher price would yield in added income.

–Maude Varnell.

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Section Seven
October 13, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

The Aerospace Issue

Anti-Compulsion, NOT Anti-Union

THE AEROSPACE INDUSTRY has historically been opposed to compulsory unionism. No worker has had to pay union dues or join a union in order to hold a job. A few months ago, the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the International Association of Machinists (IAM) threatened to strike unless the six major companies in the industry* forced their non-union workers to join or pay dues.

When the demands were first made, the industry presented a united front in opposition. Then, on July 16, Douglas Aircraft—hard pressed financially—caved in, signing with UAW and IAM an agency shop agreement (compelling non-union employes to pay to the union the equivalent of dues and assessments). Three weeks later, Douglas received a $141-million, cost-plus-fixed-fee missile contract.

Answering a letter from a critical stockholder, Donald Douglas, Jr., said: "Our decisions, as I am sure you understand, must consider not only the interest of our employes but those of our stockholders and the national government, for which we hold important defense contracts. . . I think it is worth noting that we have made substantial progress [since the signing of the contract] and the coming months undoubtedly will see a continuing improvement in our situation. As an example, I cite the recent award of the $141-million Saturn S-IVB contract. . . ."

Douglas Workers Protest

Within two weeks after Douglas signed the agreement, more than 2,000 Douglas workers signed petitions of protest reading:

"We, the following employes of Douglas Aircraft, hereby protest the action taken between the Company and the IAM and the UAW unions in the recent negotiations. . . No man or woman should be compelled to pay a union agency in order to hold a job. Many of these employes have been performing their duties on these jobs for 25 to 30 years, and without assistance from the union, and do not feel that they should be required to pay dues for the advance of political objectives of organized labor. Nor do they want to support principles they do not believe in. Nor do they want to support union officials they do not respect or trust. . ."

Since then, Douglas Aircraft employes have filed suit against Douglas to block enforcement of the agency shop. The original petitioners have organized themselves as the "Aerospace Workers for Freedom," with chapters in all the major aerospace plants in California. They organized to block any form of compulsory unionism.

*North American, Ryan Aeronautical Corporation, General Dynamics (Convair), Aerojet-General Corporation, Lockheed Aircraft and Douglas Aircraft.

The Administration's action was considered to be a payoff to Walter P. Reuther of the UAW and Al Hayes of the IAM, each of whom played a vital role in helping JFK win the Democratic nomination for President in 1960. IAM and UAW will collect $3 million in revenues from 50,000-odd non-union employes if all six aerospace companies can be forced to sign up.

DESPITE THE BREACH, the other five companies held firm. They were encouraged by petitions protesting compulsory unionism signed by thousands of workers. Company presidents received many letters from union members asking for defense against union dictatorship.

To help the unions, the Administration moved swiftly. Arthur Goldberg, then Secretary of Labor, asserted that the Douglas agreement—with the agency shop proviso—should become the industry pattern. Ignoring the Taft-Hartley Act, the machinery established by Congress to handle such labor disputes, the President, on July 21, appointed a special "fact finding" board. He named as chairman Professor George W. Taylor of the University of Pennsylvania, who is on record as favoring compulsory unionism. Taylor was a member of the group responsible for the controversial "National Labor Policy"—a report calling for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act section allowing state right-to-work laws.

After brief deliberation, the Taylor Board came up with its recommendation: that the union shop be installed in any bargaining unit where two-thirds of the votes cast are for compulsory unionism.

Pressure from JFK

Reuther hastened to say he was "gratified" with the board's findings on the union shop. The next day (September 13) President Kennedy, at his press conference, stated he hoped the companies would accept the recommendations. If there were a strike, he said, the "responsibility would be very clear."

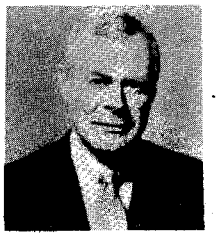
An election and the requirement of a two-thirds majority creates the impression that this is a genuine democratic procedure. However, even if the principle were sound that a two-thirds majority can force its will upon all dissenters, there are jokers in the procedure which come too close to guaranteeing the Reuther-desired agreement even if workers opposing compulsory unionism were actually in the majority. (This will be explained later.)

UPON READING the Taylor board recommendations, Lockheed announced its decision, a blunt "no." This was despite the fact that 95 per cent of its business comes from the government. The company's decision did not reflect an anti-union bias since Lockheed was the first California aircraft manufacturer to sign a contract with a union and has a record of friendly relations with its unions.

Lockheed's Position

In a letter to all its employes from company president Courtlandt S. Gross (printed on the next page), Lockheed said:

"It should be understood that the proposed election is *not* a vote by the employe to decide whether he shall join a union. It is a vote to decide whether he and other employes, both present and future, shall be *compelled*—through the vote of others—to join a union. This is just plain *wrong*. Freedom to join or not to join an organization is a basic individual right—like speech, religion, choosing a job, or moving to a new community. It should remain the individual's own personal decision."



GROSS

Meanwhile, two other companies have heeded Kennedy's thinly-veiled warning. On September 19, North American accepted the "principle" of the Taylor report. Two months earlier its president had told employes: "We believe union membership should be voluntary." Convair followed North American.

THE RIGGED ELECTION procedures set up by the Taylor board brought cries of despair from non-union employes who comprise half the workers in some of the companies.

The spokesman for the employes who have organized the "Aerospace Workers for Freedom" is the organization's chairman, Cecil C. Mitchell. Mitchell has been a union member for ten years, most of that time an elected official. He comments on the "fairness" of the voting procedures thusly:

"Not only would the freedom of thousands of citizens be submitted to a vote, under the plan advocated by President Kennedy and the 'Taylor' board, but the very nature of the proposed elections is contrived to give an overwhelming advantage to a hard core of compulsory unionists.

". . . the National Labor Relations Act. . . Section 9 (a) specifically sets forth that *all* the employes in a bargaining unit (or proposed bargaining unit) be counted as the electorate. Any percentage of a vote of employes, to be legal, therefore, would be calculated on the number of employes in the unit—and not just on the total of those voting, as provided in the 'Taylor' board formula.

". . . I have repeatedly seen first-hand the employment of tactics which make a mockery of freedom of the ballot. Union

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officials who control the organization and the spending of its vast sums of money can make a travesty of an election. Like some racketeering precinct political bosses, they can tell you how many votes will be cast and they can rigidly control this number. Those who cherish freedom, having none of the resources and none of the power of the entrenched machine, haven't a chance in an election whose rules are made by the union officials."

Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) said: "From the time the White House chose Dr. Taylor to head the board, the operation was nothing but executive window-dressing to give the unions exactly what they wanted... the taxpayer's money is being used to force compulsory unionism down the throats of thousands of American workers. For we can't overlook the fact that the aerospace firms' major work is done on government-financed programs. In other words, if the space firms reject the board's findings and the President's expressed desire, they run the risk of losing government contracts.

"The implication is plain enough when the President speaks to his news conference about placing responsibility for a strike at the feet of the aerospace companies... Mr. President, freedom cannot live in this land, nor in any other land, when the muscle of powerful, centralized government is used to beat it down. The payment of a political debt in the currency of freedom must not be tolerated in this country."

Lockheed's Letter to Its Employes

To Lockheed Employes:

The dispute over compulsory union membership between Lockheed and the International Association of Machinists has been very much in the news these past few days.

We haven't been able to tell you about it in the past few weeks because of an understanding that only the Board appointed by the President would report on the progress of its mediation efforts.

Now that the Board has issued its report and made its recommendations, however, we want to tell you what is at stake and our position.

The Issue: Compulsion

First, the only major issue holding up a settlement is the union's demand that we force all employes in the bargaining units at Calac and LMSC* to join the union or lose their jobs with us. It's true that the matters of wage increases, employe benefits, and some others are still open, but they would be resolved quickly if the main obstacle were removed.

Even the Board itself says this union shop demand is "the chief roadblock" to an agreement. "The search for a solution to the union shop issue," the Board's report says, "has thus far been fruitless."

So the Board then proposed that bargaining unit employes vote on a choice between enforced union membership for all, or continuing our present maintenance of membership clauses.

We're frank to admit that, on the surface, such an election can sound like a fair and reasonable way to end the dispute. After all, a vote has a popular appeal. It seems democratic. It could avoid a strike that would hurt defense and space programs. And the President has said he favors the Board's suggestion.

Then why not agree to let employes decide?

There are some very good reasons for our opposing such an election. We have told the Board we cannot regard it as a satisfactory means of resolving this basic issue of a union shop.

It should be understood that the proposed election is *not* a vote by the employe to decide whether he shall join a union. It is a vote to decide whether he and other employes, both present and future, shall be *compelled*—through the vote of others—to join the union.

This is just plain *wrong*. Freedom to join or not to join an organization is a basic individual right—like speech, religion, choosing a job, or moving to a new community. It should remain the individual's own personal decision.

It is this freedom Lockheed is striving to protect. We have an obligation to protect the right of our employes either to join or not to join a union. The fact that over 18,000 of our employes in Calac and LMSC have elected not to join—as opposed to 17,000 who have joined—strongly reinforces our conviction. The company is the only one who can protect their right not to join.

In addition, we believe an election is *unnecessary*. Our employes always have been and still are free at any time to join the union. They are also free not to join. The fact is that at Calac more than half have decided to join. At LMSC fewer than half have chosen to join.

An election *bypasses the collective bargaining procedure* as established by Congress and practiced for the past quarter century. Labor contracts are negotiated as a package and accepted or rejected as a package. Voting separately on individual items would make a farce of this process.

An election sets a *dangerous precedent*. It will discourage true collective bargaining in the future. Neither side will be encouraged to reach an agreement through bargaining on an over-all contract if it feels that individual issues can be submitted to a popular vote.

Not Anti-Union

I want to make it clear that we are not anti-union. We have behind us 25 years of collective bargaining with unions. We were the first California aircraft manufacturer to sign a contract with a union. We are proud of our history of and national reputation for favorable personnel practices and fair dealing with unions and employes.

We have never denied the undoubted contributions unions have made to working conditions and industrial practices. They have grown in strength and generally have served their members well. We have never declined to bargain in good faith with unions representing our own employes. We and the Machinists have dealt with each other for years on the basis of mutual respect.

We are not anti-union. But we are anti-compulsion.

The public has a big stake in these negotiations. And it is strongly in the national interest to settle them quickly and without a strike.

It should be made clear, however, that it is the union, not the company, that seeks a change in the existing maintenance of membership provisions that have been in effect for 17 years. It is the union that would force the conscription of all employes into the union.

It is the union that has threatened to strike on this issue in disregard of the public interest. And if a strike occurs, it is the union that must bear the responsibility.

Can a Strike Be Avoided?

We believe it can, by realistic, honest-to-goodness bargaining with the unions—rather than by sparring around awaiting a settlement of our problems by the government.

After all, Congress as a matter of public policy has established free collective bargaining as the approved way to settle labor-management disputes. Terms dictated by the government—or specified in recommendations that have all the weight of government pressure and influences behind them—are not public policy. And they are not in the public interest. In the long run they can only weaken and eventually wipe out free collective bargaining as practiced for the past quarter century.

We cannot concede that three outsiders, no matter how distinguished, are able to say what is right for Lockheed employes better than the company and the union. And in the end, it is all of us at Lockheed who must live with the decision.

Should a strike take place at Lockheed at this time, it will be because of the union demand for the union shop and because the government has not followed the remedies established by Congress for the protection of the national health and safety. The Taft-Hartley Act was passed for the specific purpose of preventing a strike in such a dispute as this. That action is still available to the government.

Courtlandt S. Gross
Chairman

September 15, 1962

* Lockheed California Company, Burbank, California, and Lockheed Missiles and Space Company, Sunnyvale, California.

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